

Kanaka World Travelers and Fur Company Employees, 1785-1860

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Chinese, Japanese, and Negroes were not the only minority racial groups represented in the early history of Oregon Country (which included Oregon, Washington, parts of Idaho and Montana). Before approximately 1860 many foreigners in the area were Hawaiian Islanders, called Sandwich Islanders, Owhyees and, most frequently, Kanakas.

Hawaii was discovered in 1778 by Captain James Cook, who named the islands after his patron, the Earl of Sandwich. Within less than a decade after Cook's discovery the Islands had become a regular stop for merchant and whaling vessels needing fresh water and provisions, and many crew members remained in the newly discovered paradise.¹ Cook's discovery also brought the natives of Hawaii a new outlet for their curiosity and for their excellent abilities on the sea. The ships that stopped in the Islands often were looking for additions to their crews, either as seamen or as personal servants for the officers or for the wives of merchant captains who often accompanied their husbands.² In May 1787, the British ship *Imperial Eagle* took aboard an Hawaiian woman, to be the personal servant of the captain's wife, and she became the first recorded Islander to leave her homeland.³ In China the captain's wife decided to travel on to Europe, and Winee was left behind to return to the Islands. She found passage on the *Nootka*, then in the China Sea, and met an Hawaiian chief, Kaiona (Tianna), who had agreed to accompany John Meares aboard the *Nootka* when it left the Islands in August 1787.⁴ There were two other Kanakas who boarded the *Nootka* with Winee. They "... had been brought to China by different ships, rather as objects of curiosity, than from the better motive of instruction to them, or advantage to commerce."⁵ Meares considered the Islanders intelligent and dignified and described Winee as possessing "... virtues that are seldom to be found in the class of her countrywomen to which she belonged; and a portion of understanding that was not to be expected in a rude and uncultivated mind."⁶

Winee fell ill with a fever and Tianna, although a chief, cared for her

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constantly. Then Tianna also became ill, and Meares decided to transfer the Hawaiians to James Douglas' *Iphigenia*, since its course was set directly for the Islands. Winee died aboard the *Iphigenia* February 5, 1788, and was buried at sea, but Tianna recovered and later joined another voyage to Nootka Sound. Meares was even higher in his praise of Tianna and considered him to have the "... capacities which education might have nurtured into intellectual superiority. . . ."⁷ Once Tianna returned to the Islands this intelligence and the first-hand knowledge of European weaponry he had acquired could only have strengthened convictions already held by the various chieftains that such military techniques were far superior to their own. Kamehameha I shrewdly adapted the European technology, employed its weaponry effectively against his countrymen, and gained control of all the Islands in 1810.⁸

While internal warfare still raged, the number of vessels arriving in the Islands increased. After 1788, all the vessels headed for the Pacific Northwest coast made stops there, and several of them took aboard Hawaiian men. In 1789 Captain Robert Gray sailed with Chief Attoo, who accompanied him all the way to Boston.⁹ He was with Gray when the latter discovered the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792.¹⁰ That same year the HMS *Jenny* sailed from the Islands for Nootka Sound with two Hawaiian women who later transferred to the *Discovery*, captained by George Vancouver.¹¹ They returned with him to the Islands in 1794, at which time Vancouver had his ship carpenters teach the Hawaiians how to build the large European vessels.¹²

Kamehameha I thus took control of the Islands and then continued to adapt his country and its people to the technology of the industrializing and mobile world. The early European explorers had returned home with fantastic estimates of the riches to be gained on the coast of the Pacific Northwest through sea otter and whales. This news traveled rapidly, and each year after the beginning of the 19th century there was an increase in the number of ships that began the journey from Boston or England to the Pacific Northwest. They all stopped in Hawaii, and many needed additional crew members. The Hawaiian people, especially the young men, also wished to benefit from this new opportunity and volunteered readily for duty on the merchant vessels.

Two young Hawaiians named Hopoo and Obookiah were among those eager to offer their services. In 1807 they joined the crew of a vessel captained by John Brintnall of New Haven, Connecticut, Hopoo as a cabin boy and Obookiah as a sailor. They landed in New York in 1809 and were taken in by the families of Captain Brintnall and Dr. O. Hotchkiss. Hopoo later returned to the sea and served during the War of 1812 before being captured and imprisoned by the British in the West Indies Islands. In 1816 Hopoo returned to New England, found Obookiah, and went with him to Litchfield Farms to study for the ministry.¹³ Unfortunately, Obookiah died before the two could return to their Islands as ministers, but Hopoo did reach Hawaii again in 1819.¹⁴

The captains too began to ask for the services of Kanakas, or Owheeyes, as the Islanders came to be called. The term Owheeyes was a mistranslation, and

Kanaka was originally a Polynesian term for a man of aboriginal blood.¹⁵ It would later become a derogatory word used by those who wished to impress the Hawaiians with their low position. To the Islanders, however, it meant approximately the same as the English word agent. Thus, the kanaka of Kamehameha was his agent or business associate just as the American Foreign Secretary would be the kanaka of the President of the United States.¹⁶

In 1811 John Jacob Astor's *Tonquin* sailed into Honolulu Harbor on its way to establish a fur post on the Pacific Northwest coast. The *Tonquin's* captain, Jonathan Thorn, wanted to hire twenty-four of the Islanders, twelve as seamen and the remaining half to work at the proposed fur post. Kamehameha was interested in Thorn's proposal, but he also wanted first-hand information about what such a lucrative business as supplying seamen and laborers to the growing fur trade might involve. The king therefore appointed one of his favorite kanakas, Naukane, to go aboard the *Tonquin* as a royal observer. Naukane had witnessed the death of Captain Cook and was a member of the royal family that took over power with Kamehameha in 1810. Because Naukane resembled one of the Americans, he became known as John Coxe and retained the name throughout his long and colorful life in the Pacific Northwest.¹⁷

In February, before the *Tonquin* left Hawaii, two Islanders volunteered to dive for some pulleys that had been dropped overboard. Captain Thorn promised to pay four yards of cloth if the Kanakas succeeded in retrieving the pulleys.¹⁸ The Islanders proceeded to demonstrate their abilities as divers and were timed under water for four minutes on one dive. The American crewmen were impressed with the Kanakas as good sailors also, and since the Islanders were eager for adventure, more of them could have been engaged for the Pacific Fur Company.¹⁹

Fortunately for Coxe, his position as royal observer did not require him to remain aboard the *Tonquin* after it reached the North American coast. The ship developed its first problems on March 24, 1811, on approaching the Columbia River. A small group, including Stephen Weeks and two Kanakas, were sent out in a small boat to make soundings of the river entrance, but an ebbing tide made it impossible for them to return to the *Tonquin*.²⁰ Weeks and the Kanakas drifted until their boat was swamped, whereupon the two Islanders immediately stripped off their clothes, righted the boat, bailed it out, and retrieved the oars. The Kanakas then helped Weeks into the boat, but it was so cold that shortly after midnight one of the Hawaiians died. When the two remaining men reached shore the next day, Weeks dragged the second Kanaka onto the beach, but his grief over his companion's death had so affected the second Kanaka that he refused to go further. Weeks covered the Kanaka with leaves at the edge of the forest and left him to die.²¹

On the 25th Thornton had sent out a search party for the lost seamen. Weeks was soon found and the next day, March 26, the second Kanaka was discovered still alive. That same day a burial service was held for the dead Islander. The Kanakas dug a deep hole in the sand, placed the body inside, and put in offerings of biscuit, pork and tobacco. After the grave was filled the Islanders formed a double line facing east; one of them, acting as a priest,

sprinkled the others with water, and then a short prayer was said. The ceremony then ended, the men returned to the ship, and the *Tonquin* continued on its way up the Columbia River.²²

Coxe went ashore with the twelve Kanakas hired as laborers to build Astoria. The *Tonquin's* captain decided to do some further exploring and trading with the Indians along the northern coast, but he and his crew, including the Kanakas hired as seamen for three years' service, soon ran into difficulties with the natives that ended in disaster. The natives and Captain Thorn could not agree on fur prices; the Indians attacked the *Tonquin*, and all of the men aboard were killed and the vessel sunk.²³

The remaining Kanakas also were experiencing problems at Astoria. The labor required to build a fort in the wilderness was exhausting, and the Islanders, "... used to a dry, pure atmosphere, sank under its influences; damp fogs and sleet were frequent, ..." the food also was bad and as a result, half of the work crew usually were down sick. By July, however, the fort was at least livable and on July 22, David Stuart and seven others, including John Coxe, set out to establish a post in the interior.²⁴ Along the upper Columbia Stuart's party met that of David Thompson of the North West Company. Thompson was taken by the humor and wit of Coxe, and negotiated to exchange one of his men, a Canadian named Boulard, for the Kanaka.²⁵ For his part, Coxe seemed willing to remain in the new country and did not feel obligated to return to the Islands to report to his king. Those *makaainana* (commoners) who had contracted themselves as seamen and laborers to the Pacific Fur Company certainly enjoyed the new freedom offered by the Northwest even more than their royal observer.

Coxe joined Thompson and traveled with him to Fort William on Lake Superior.²⁶ The Kanakas who remained at Astoria welcomed a second Astor ship, the *Beaver*, on May 12, 1812.²⁷ This ship brought five Canadians, one of whom was Ross Cox, seven Americans, and twelve Kanakas to augment the employees. Astor's men were having difficulties competing with the North West Company, and the loss of the *Tonquin* had reduced supplies. Astor's employees also were frequently lured away by better offers from the Canadian company, but the final blow to Astor's ambition came when war broke out between England and the United States.²⁸

Coxe, as a North West Company employee, became involved in an expedition sent to seize Astoria. He sailed with the force from Portsmouth, England, aboard the *Isaac Todd* March 25, 1813. After a transfer to the HMS *Racoon*, Coxe and the other Company employees reached the Columbia River November 30. By then, however, the Pacific Fur Company had been sold to the North West Company, and nothing was left to seize.²⁹

Coxe and the other Kanakas remained at Astoria, renamed Fort George, until August 1814, when the thirty-two Islanders who had contracted with the defunct Pacific Fur Company found themselves without jobs and forced to return to their home. Coxe felt obligated to return with them and end his functions as royal observer. They sailed aboard either the *Columbia* or the *Isaac Todd*, the latter manned by Kanaka seamen.³⁰

The North West Company, however, had been impressed by their brief experiences with the Islanders, and it continued to bring them into the Northwest to serve at Fort George and in the interior. Ross Cox, one of the Company clerks who arrived in 1812, made many entries in his journal on the Kanakas.³¹ He considered them far superior to freemen, and "... not wanting in courage, particularly against the Indians, for whom they entertain a very cordial contempt. . . ."³² They were used to augment the crews of the coast trade vessels and to replenish the inadequate work parties ashore. They were submissive to the Company employees, honest, trustworthy, and willing to perform any duties of which they were capable.³³ As expert swimmers they were invaluable in righting swamped canoes and keeping less able employees from drowning. Ross lauded their industry but did not feel that they were capable of leadership. Since the North West Company hired them for a wage of merely food and clothing, the Kanakas also were cheaper labor than that of the Canadian voyageurs.

In 1816 the Company's *Colonel Allen* arrived at the Columbia. Aboard was a Russian renegade named Jacob who had been placed in irons for inciting mutiny. No doubt the captain of the *Colonel Allen* wanted to rid himself of this problem sailor, so Jacob was left at Fort George. He promptly began preaching desertion to the Kanakas at the fort, and one night led eighteen employees, including Kanakas, toward California. The next day an interpreter was sent to overtake the deserters, and when he did he found the Islanders were ready to abandon the treacherous Jacob. "... the fugitive islanders wheeled about, and, accompanying the interpreter, returned again to the establishment on the third day."³⁴

In January 1817, the North West Company ship *Columbia* returned to Hawaii for repairs and to cure pork. Her captain had orders "... to bring as many of the Sandwich Islanders to the Columbia River as ... could conveniently [be] accommodate[d]."³⁵ The Islanders were still eager to join the fur companies on the American mainland, and those who had returned from the ill-fated Astoria venture were probably among the first to volunteer. Cox would have been among them if his king had not had other plans for him.³⁶ The experienced Kanakas certainly did not return to the Islands to condemn laboring for the fur companies or recruits would have been difficult to obtain.

When the North West Company established Fort Walla Walla in July 1818, those employees stationed at the post consisted of twenty-five Canadians, thirty-two Kanakas, and thirty-eight Iroquois under the leadership of Donald Mackenzie.³⁷ Mackenzie had quarreled with his superiors at Fort George over the amount of supplies and men he would need at the new fort to trade successfully in the interior, but he ended up with the thirty-eight Iroquois he did not want who gave the party trouble from the beginning. These Indians plotted against Mackenzie and finally attacked him one night. He was saved by the arrival of "... some of the Canadians and faithful Owhyhees. . . ."

Mackenzie and his party wintered among the Snake Indians in 1820. Three of his Kanakas had been sent to another area to hunt beaver and when they did not return, Mackenzie sent out a search party which found "... the place

where they had been hunting, and where they had been murdered; the skeleton of one of them was found, but nothing else." The river in the area was thereafter known as the Owhyee. Mackenzie and the remainder of his group returned to Fort George to conclude the unsuccessful expedition, the failure of which Cox attributed to employment of too many freedmen rather than "good, steady men of character, thrifty and persevering, . . . no matter to what class or country they may belong. . . ." Cox was prejudiced against unsatisfactory workers, but not against racial groups.

The North West Company had developed other problems and could not concern itself with the quality of its employees or their welfare. For several years the Company and the Hudson's Bay Company had been fighting to gain control of the fur empire east of the Rocky Mountains and to eliminate the opposing company as a competitor.³⁸ By 1820 the HBC was encroaching in the Pacific Northwest, and at the same time the American whalers were beginning to flood the Northwest area with ships sailing out of Nantucket, New Bedford, and New London.³⁹ Both the Americans and the HBC threatened the Indian trade and the Hawaiian labor market previously under control of the North West Company. Finally, on March 26, 1821, the English government forced a merger of the HBC and North West companies.⁴⁰ Ross Cox was among the employees who joined the HBC. His experience would be needed if the HBC were to accomplish the task of consolidating two work forces without losing efficiency, and of defeating the American competition.

The Kanaka labor force was a key factor in the HBC operation. Ross had pointed out the inadvisability of using freedmen and the unreliability of the Iroquois and other Indian tribes, and, although the Canadian voyageurs were desirable employees, they were also expensive and independent, and many of them were unwilling to leave the Red River Settlement area.⁴¹ The only other source of cheap labor was in the Sandwich Islands, and by 1823, 200 Kanakas had left the Islands, although many of them were aboard American whalers.⁴² In fact, they were so often employed " . . . that a reserve of trained sailors . . . formed in the islands."⁴³

Obviously, the HBC needed to find ways to attack the labor problem that faced the Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver, Dr. John McLoughlin. He was an astute businessman, as evidenced by a net worth of \$142,585.02 when he retired, who exerted a powerful influence as chief factor at Vancouver, as is well known.⁴⁴ The first move toward cornering the labor market in the Islands came in July 1824, when Richard Charlton was appointed consular agent there.⁴⁵ Astor had offered the Kanakas room and board, clothing and a set amount of merchandise for their labors.⁴⁶ The North West Company did not pay the Islanders either, but the HBC offered them ten pounds per year.⁴⁷ There were other incentives, too, for "Hawaiians who had worked for some years could look forward to a life of wealth and ease on their return home."⁴⁸

By 1825, 300 Kanakas had left the Islands. Their exodus, coupled with epidemics of measles and smallpox and the introduction of syphilis by the white men, had rapidly reduced the Island population, which had been estimated at 300,000 in 1778 but had dropped to 134,750 by 1823.⁴⁹ Kame-

hameha realized the threat facing his people and initiated a poll tax on laborers likely to be lost to the community during a long-term foreign employment.⁵⁰

It was also during the period 1823-1825 that Kamehameha II visited England to discuss the future of his Islands with George IV. John Coxe was in this party that sailed for England aboard the whaleship *L'Aigle*. Unfortunately, the king and his wife succumbed to measles before they could meet the British king, but the remaining Kanakas, including Coxe, attended an audience with George IV on September 11, 1824.⁵¹ The bodies of Kamehameha and his queen were returned to Hawaii aboard the frigate *Blonde* captained by Lord Byron, cousin of the poet.⁵² Coxe no longer was bound by his loyalty to the king, and he immediately offered his services to the HBC.⁵³ He was only one of approximately thirty-five Islanders working for the Company by 1825.⁵⁴

The Kanakas were employed in building boats, as middlemen on the canoes and York boats, and as seamen on the Company coast vessels.⁵⁵ John Work, operating out of Fort George, also employed Islanders and in April 1825, he was requesting McLoughlin to furnish more boats, "... manned with whites and Owwhyees."⁵⁶ Later that year McLoughlin wrote to the Company's headquarters in London complaining that the captain of the *William and Ann* was late arriving at the Columbia. When the ship did arrive, the captain kept half of the Kanakas on board, although McLoughlin needed all of them at the fort.⁵⁷

On May 10, 1826, Alexander McLeod, one of the HBC's chief traders, started out on an expedition to trap beaver south of the Columbia. His party included three Kanakas, one of whom was probably Louis Kanota, who would later join John Work's California brigades.⁵⁸ The HBC also used Kanakas to assist in the pacification of local Indian tribes. The first such punitive expedition was led by McLeod in 1828 against the Clallum Indians. The party consisted of over sixty men including Iroquois, Chinooks, and Owwhyees. Six Kanakas were aboard the *Cadboro*, which was to support the land party, and two others, Tourawhyheene and Cawinai, manned canoes of the overland force.⁵⁹

It was during this same period that Fort Langley was established. James MacMillan and Archibald McDonald were placed in charge of twenty-five men, of whom at least two were Kanakas.⁶⁰ The Islanders did all the sawing for the buildings erected, and upon the arrival of the *Cadboro* in September 1827, two other Islanders from the ship went ashore to help root out tree stumps.⁶¹ When the fort enclosure was completed, the Kanakas began work on the storehouse and other interior buildings, and after their completion they started plowing to prepare for potato planting.⁶²

Both McLoughlin and Sir George Simpson recognized the importance of a sawmill in the Northwest, and McLoughlin built the first HBC sawmill in the region in 1828; it was located five miles upstream from Fort Vancouver and was operated by Kanakas. At first there was only one saw and eight Kanakas to operate it, who received wages plus board that consisted largely of smoked salmon and sea biscuit. The timber in the area seemed unlimited, and production would not only furnish lumber for the building of ships and

forts, but also was in demand in Hawaii.⁶³ The Hawaiian market would help the HBC control the coastal trade, and the building boom in the Islands guaranteed good prices.⁶⁴

By the summer of 1830 McLoughlin could write to Charlton that 200,000 feet of lumber was being sent to the Islands. In the same letter McLoughlin requested that Charlton, "... by the first vessel of ours consigned to this place which touches at Wahoo [sic] next Spring send us fifteen active Owhyhee young men on the same terms as those you procured for Captain Simpson,— and optional with us to send them back next fall if we did not require them[.]”⁶⁵

The loss of the *William and Ann*, which sank at the mouth of the Columbia in 1829, was a serious blow to McLoughlin and the Company for two reasons: the ship itself was needed if the HBC was to continue its control of the coastal trade; and the loss of the men aboard, including Kanakas, depleted the already inadequate work force. McLoughlin informed London that the ship had to be replaced and recommended a complement of twenty-five men and officers "... to which this number might be made up with Sandwich Islanders by the Captain being instructed to procure them from Mr. Charlton. . . ." Since the original *William and Ann* crew had included ten Kanakas, plus another sixteen intended for duty at Fort Vancouver, a new crew of twenty-five would be half Islanders (allowing five for the officers requested.)⁶⁶

McLoughlin did not limit his use of Kanakas to Fort Vancouver. In 1831, he wrote Peter Skene Ogden at Fort Simpson that he was sending four Islanders to replace those already at the fort whose annual contract had expired (thus the Kanakas had been at Fort Simpson at least since 1830).⁶⁷ Shortly after he wrote his letter to Ogden, McLoughlin sent two Kanakas to Francis Heron at Fort Colville.⁶⁸

On October 27 and 31, 1831, McLoughlin again wrote Charlton that another cargo of lumber was being sent to the Islands. At the same time, since the *Griffin* was contemplated as a purchase to replace the *William and Ann*, Charlton was requested to sign up a crew for one year with wages of six pounds, six shillings for first mate, four pounds, four shillings for second mate, and two pounds, ten shillings for seamen. McLoughlin wanted Charlton to engage as many as possible.⁶⁹

John Work's California brigade in 1831–1832 employed the Kanaka, Louis Kanota, as a scout. Kanota was a favorite of Work's and was allowed to bring his wife and child on the expedition. It was also Kanota who had been to California earlier and was therefore familiar with the area. Work's journal contained numerous notations praising Kanota's abilities as a hunter, scout, and retriever of stolen horses.⁷⁰

Then in 1832 McLoughlin discovered that a new competitor had arrived in the Northwest. Nathaniel J. Wyeth arrived to establish what he hoped would be a prosperous Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company. From the beginning, however, Wyeth experienced difficulties in keeping his men from deserting to the HBC. Many of those he managed to keep were incapable of managing boats on the Columbia, and others were frequently down with

illnesses. In March 1832, Wyeth wrote Simpson suggesting that the HBC would find it advantageous to supply Wyeth with the laborers he required. Simpson, however, was more interested in ridding the Northwest of Wyeth and did not intend to cooperate by supplying a labor force. When Wyeth set out for Fort Walla Walla in February 1833, he had only two men with him.⁷¹

Wyeth then returned East to accumulate additional capital and supplies and to make an agreement with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to supply their goods at rendezvous the next fall. Such an arrangement, he felt sure, could be a profitable business arrangement and would make it unnecessary for him to continue his operations completely on the coast dominated by the HBC. But his expenses were mounting, and since he could not contract with the HBC to acquire cheap labor, he was forced to seek men at St. Louis. There he had to pay wages ranging from \$250 per year for a contract of eighteen months to a high of \$300 per year for a three-year contract.⁷²

When Wyeth reached the rendezvous the Rocky Mountain Fur Company refused to honor its contract and further made serious efforts to steal away his men, but Wyeth "... hired enough of theirs to make up, and [did] not fear falling short of troops." When he started out for Fort Walla Walla Wyeth had 126 mules and horses, and forty-one employees. Since he remarked on the small wages he paid the new employees, they must have been Kanakas and/or Indians, or both.

Wyeth's party arrived at Walla Walla September 2, 1834.⁷³ On the 15th, after traveling down to Vancouver, he met his ship, the *May Dacre*, Captain Dan Lambert in charge. The captain "... was well and brot [sic] me twenty Sandwich Islanders and two Smiths and a Clerk." Wyeth and his new employees started back up the Columbia on October 13. On the 26th Wyeth sent out Captain Joseph Thing, thirteen Kanakas, and eight whites to reach Fort Hall. Thing's party had all the best horses, and when Wyeth started out his four Kanakas had to travel by foot "... for want of Horses and goods on miserably poor animals."⁷⁴

Before Wyeth's party had traveled far he learned that all of Thing's Kanakas had deserted him. On November 11, 1834, Wyeth traveled to Thing's camp and learned that "... the Kanakas had taken about two bales of goods and twelve horses[.]" Wyeth sent out a search party, gave Thing his four Kanakas and another ten employees so he could proceed to Fort Hall, and awaited the outcome of the search. The next day he was notified "... that the Kanakas had not touched the Columbia nor passed the Utalla (Umatilla) River and that Richardson had got a party of Indians to accompany him and horses and had taken up pursuit on land."⁷⁵ Through November until March, 1835, Wyeth received various information on the whereabouts of his deserters. He suspected that much of the information given him by the Indians was merely for the purpose of receiving tobacco, but he recorded each item in his journal. Six Kanakas were reported at the John Day River; later Indians at the Des Chutes said two had stolen Indian horses, shot a chief, and then started down the river.⁷⁶ Wyeth hoped this last occurrence was untrue because he did not

want to make an example of the Kanakas to quiet the Indians; obviously he was unaware of the animosity that existed between the two races.

In February Wyeth heard that of the runaways "... ten took the trail over the Blue[,] one was drowned in crossing some ford[,] one froze in the upper country[,] that the residue rafted on the Snake river[,] one more died somehow about the falls[,] that seven are gone down to Vancouver[.]" When he reached the fort on February 12, Wyeth found the Kanakas there completely sick of their job so he decided not to treat them severely.⁷⁷

According to the ledgers of Fort Hall, the Kanakas were paid \$10 per month, most of which they spent on clothing and tobacco. Most of the recovered deserters were returned to Fort William at the mouth of the Multnomah (Willamette). The runaways were identified as Bill King, Lawler, Isaac, Dick, Charley, George Adams, Jack, Harry, Negro, Tom Bull, Harry Parker, John Palmer, and Harry Pickard. The total value of the property they stole was recorded as \$3135.54.⁷⁸

Wyeth's problems did not end with the loss of his Kanakas and in December 1836, he wrote to the HBC Committee in London informing them he was breaking up his company. He requested the assistance of the HBC in finding a purchaser for the property at the Columbia River, Walla Walla, and Fort Hall.⁷⁹ In a similar letter to McLoughlin, Wyeth also asked help in finding means to return his remaining seven Kanakas to their Islands. "I will further observe that there are more Kanakas to be returned to the Islands than is mentioned . . . , and that my intention is that they shall all be returned to their homes."⁸⁰ Then Wyeth wrote Thing at Fort Hall that he wished the Kanakas returned to their homes, "... unless an arrangement mutually satisfactory can be made to transfer them to the service of the Hudson Bay Company, and it will be proper to write to the American Counsel at Oaha stating to him the names of those who have died in the country, and the disposal of the residue."⁸¹

On January 9, 1837, Wyeth received a reply to his letter to the HBC in London. It stated that the HBC would purchase his goods and provide passage to Hawaii for the Kanakas, Joseph Thing, Abel Baker, and C. W. Walker "... charging a fair and moderate passage money. . . ."⁸² Some of the Islanders, however, did not wish to return to their homes. In a ledger entry for June 18, 1837, Joseph Thing wrote that the Kanakas turned over to the HBC were Bill King, Dick, Jack Lawler, Charley, and Harry Parker. Rice, Pig, John Bull, and Dido evidently accepted the HBC's passage to Hawaii.⁸³

The HBC was once again in complete control of the area west of the Rockies. But its labor supplier in Hawaii was creating problems for the British government that threatened to end his career and leave the HBC in Oregon without an agent to keep McLoughlin supplied with Kanakas. In the first place, Charlton was not well liked because of his aristocratic manners.⁸⁴ Then, in 1837 he was involved in an attempt to keep two Catholic priests on the Islands after Kamehameha III had expelled them.⁸⁵ Charlton was subsequently called to England, and William Miller was appointed in his absence. The British government was anxious to settle the misunderstanding created

by Charlton's actions and the concurrent short British occupation of the Islands.⁸⁶

Charlton, however, made claims on some Island land supposedly granted to him in 1826. The land was located near the fort at Honolulu harbor and by 1844 was considered quite valuable, with twenty-seven buildings located on it. The British government refused to rule on the dispute, and Charlton would not produce the deed so that the Hawaiian government could make a decision.⁸⁷ Finally, arbiters were appointed for both sides, John Ricord representing the Hawaiian government and R. C. Wyllie as arbiter for Charlton.⁸⁸ According to James Hunnewell of Boston the deed was either a forgery or else the witnesses involved did not know what they were signing. Hunnewell had lived in the Islands in 1825-6 and felt certain Charlton's claim was a hoax. He suggested that if the British government really wished justice it would "... transfer Rich. Charlton from the Sandwich Islands to New Holland for the remainder of his life." Neither Hunnewell's opinion nor the Island land system, based on leasing rather than ownership, proved sufficient evidence, however, and Charlton finally was granted title to his claim.⁸⁹

In 1839 Alexander Simpson had been appointed to conduct the HBC business in the Islands, but he proved to be more interested in fostering his own prosperity. In 1841 George T. Allan replaced him.⁹⁰ These disruptions in the Islands did not promote good business with the HBC in the Pacific Northwest but they would have been even more serious except that in 1840 a contract had been signed with Kamehameha III to supply the HBC sixty additional Kanakas for a three-year period. This contract set several specific conditions. First, the exact term of service (three years). Secondly, if any of the Islanders deserted, the Company would pay twenty dollars. Finally, if any died, the twenty-dollar assessment would not apply. This penalty would apply, though, if at the end of the three-year period those Hawaiians wishing to return to the Islands were not allowed to do so.⁹¹ The contract made no provisions, however, for determining and adjudicating any violations.

By 1848 the number of Kanakas that had left the Islands had risen to 3,500, and the Island population had dropped to 82,000, of whom almost 2000 were foreigners.⁹² The HBC's total establishment now consisted of sixteen chief factors, twenty-one chief traders, five surgeons, eighty-seven clerks, sixty-seven postmasters, and 1200 permanent servants. There were also 500 voyageurs, and 150 officers and crews of vessels. The governor-in-chief, Sir George Simpson, estimated that at least 3000 were given employment each season.⁹³

But Simpson had also become convinced that this permanent work force included too many Kanakas, a fact which was contributing to the depopulation of Hawaii. On March 1, 1842, he wrote McLoughlin that no more should be hired.⁹⁴ This letter was sent from Honolulu where Simpson had stopped briefly during his journey around the world. Significantly, it was here also that he recorded what he considered to be the reasons for the severe decline in the Hawaiian population. First, was "... a spirit, or at least a practice, of emigration among the men ..." and the second cause was the depravity of

the women. He estimated that 1000 Kanakas left the Islands annually, going to California, Oregon, or aboard whaling vessels "... a considerable portion ... said to be permanently lost to their country, either dying during their engagements, or settling in other parts of the world."⁹⁵

McLoughlin did not agree with his superior that no more Kanakas should be hired, especially since his men were still requesting replacements. He therefore wrote to London stating that he had found it "... necessary to order fifty Sandwich Islanders from Woahoo by the *Columbia*, this number will barely, if it does, replace the retiring Servants next year, and the other Vacancies in the Department, caused by deaths, and the Sandwich Islanders, who have been sent by the *Vancouver* and *Columbia* this fall to Woahoo, say fourteen."⁹⁶ Since McLoughlin had no authority to disregard the orders of Simpson, he considered the need for additional Kanakas of such importance that he was willing to risk severe censure for his actions, hoping that the HBC Council would realize their necessity and condone his disobedience.

McLoughlin and Simpson soon clashed again, however, this time over a killing at Fort Stikine that resulted in the death of John McLoughlin, Jr. The subsequent investigation was carried out by Simpson, who reported that he had heard testimony that McLoughlin's son had ordered two Kanakas at the fort to shoot a voyageur named Heroux. The Kanakas did not shoot Heroux, but later that same night Heroux turned on McLoughlin, Jr., and shot him. Two Kanakas were reported to have witnessed the killing, "Captain Cole (a Sandwich Islander who saw Heroux stand with his foot on [McLoughlin's] neck writhing in the agonies of death), and Kalepe (another ... Islander who saw Heroux fire the fatal shot and heard [McLoughlin] fall). . . ." Further testimony by Thomas McPherson suggested that all of the men at the fort except an Islander named Pouhow had signed an agreement to murder McLoughlin.⁹⁷

There were eleven Kanakas and an equal number of Canadians and Iroquois at Stikine.⁹⁸ Such a large conspiracy against one man does not seem plausible from examination of the testimony. If everyone at the fort was, indeed, involved it would have been much simpler to tell Simpson the murder was perpetrated by unknown Indians not connected with the fort. It is more likely that the Kanakas, who had no ability in English or French, did not realize what was being planned. When they testified before Simpson, through an interpreter from the *Cowlitz*, they related what they had seen, accusing only the man that had actually fired the fatal shot, and proving once again their loyalty to the one in authority.

In fact, Simpson informed London that he was satisfied that the testimony of Cole and Kalepe "... was meant to be correct,"⁹⁹ and he also felt the fault was McLoughlin's for not enforcing discipline and for drinking too heavily.¹⁰⁰ Simpson had the Canadians and Iroquois jailed and sent Heroux to Sitka for trial by the Russians because Stikine was located in Russian Territory.¹⁰¹ Dr. McLoughlin was furious over Simpson's conclusions and completely convinced that his findings were incorrect. He went so far as to send his own interpreter, William Spencer, to Stikine aboard the *Cadboro* to question the

Kanakas involved. McLoughlin was faced with problems closer to home, however, and the murder of his son was deliberated in London for some time. Although it was eventually settled without denigrating the character of McLoughlin's son, he and Simpson had reached almost total estrangement over the investigation and never reconciled their differences.¹⁰²

The problems facing McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver were created to a large extent by the arrival of American missionaries, followed shortly after by increasing numbers of settlers from east of the Mississippi River. McLoughlin knew, perhaps instinctively, that these frontiersmen who threatened the HBC power in the Northwest could not be starved out or bought off. But if he assisted them in any way, McLoughlin would once again be disobeying orders from Simpson and from London. Yet McLoughlin did disregard the directives from London on many occasions; the first time was in November 1839, when he wrote George Pelly at the Islands asking him to engage "... one single [Kanaka] with a married man and his wife for Mr. E. Young, charging all expences to [Young's] accounts and providing them a passage. . . ." ¹⁰³

But the Company remained determined to keep the Americans out of the Northwest. One of the obvious ways was to maintain the loyalty of the HBC's servants by keeping them content so they would not be tempted by offers from the Americans for more lucrative positions. In former years, the HBC had proved quite successful in capturing the employees of its competitors and now it must find a way to retain the loyalty of its own labor force.

In July 1844, McLoughlin wrote to the HBC agents in Hawaii requesting them to send him a loyal, educated Kanaka to be employed at Vancouver for the purpose of preaching to his fellow Islanders and serving as their leader. Later that year Kanaka William arrived in the Northwest. James Douglas considered him well qualified for the tasks at hand, except for his lack of English. By 1848 Kanaka William had from twenty to forty regular Hawaiians at Sunday services. He was given a private dwelling by the Company, and a building within the stockade, formerly the chaplain's schoolhouse and kitchen, was remodeled for the Kanaka church. It was fifty feet by twenty-five feet in dimensions, but probably was destroyed before 1858.¹⁰⁴

The immediate Company territory surrounding Vancouver covered 457 acres which, including Kanaka Village, occupied by servants of the HBC, accommodated from sixty to seventy-five buildings, some of them arranged neatly along the road that led from the wharf to the Catholic church.¹⁰⁵ The building styles included American framed, edged slabs, or hewn logs. Most of them were only one story but many had ceilings and were either papered or plastered. Although Kanaka Village also included Indians, half-breeds, and whites, each group living on its own street, the name no doubt indicated a greater longevity or fondness attached to the Hawaiian servants who resided there.¹⁰⁶ There were "... from 300 to 400 [Kanakas] employed on the Columbia River, in the service and vessels of the *Hon. Hudson's Bay Co.* on that coast," and they were still being hired for three-year periods at wages of \$10 per month.¹⁰⁷

The HBC decided upon a further method to strengthen the Company's position in the Northwest. In 1839 the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company was formed to contribute to the self-sufficiency of the HBC and to hold land that otherwise might be preempted by the increasing numbers of Americans flooding into the area. The PSAC was ostensibly a separate corporation, but its laborers, leaders, and areas of cultivation were supplied through the HBC.

By 1845, it was estimated that western Oregon was inhabited by some 6000 persons, of whom at least 1000 were British subjects. Many of these were employed as farmers or herders near Vancouver and at Fort George or Cowlitz Farm. In the vicinity of Vancouver 1200 acres were under cultivation, and grazing was provided for 2000 sheep, 1300 cattle, and from 700 to 800 horses.¹⁰⁸ The PSAC imported excellent stock, including improved breeds of hogs and Southtown, Leicester, and Merino sheep. The chief swineherd at Vancouver was none other than John Coxe, still in the Northwest and still loyal to his Company employer. McLoughlin thought so much of him that the grazing land below Vancouver was known as Cox-Eliheh, or Coxland.¹⁰⁹

Kanakas also labored at Fort George and Cowlitz, and at Fort Boise fourteen Islanders were employed under James Craigie, the trader in command there.¹¹⁰ Kanakas also were located at Nisqually, Colville Town, and the San Juan Islands.¹¹¹ At Fort George, Alexander Lattie kept a daily journal of his labors and those of the Islanders in his charge. They cleaned house, brought in firewood, worked in the gardens and stores. One could sew and another made repairs on the canoes; others herded the livestock and tracked down those which strayed because there were no fences. Only when his Kanakas were already busy would Lattie employ natives. On May 11, 1846, one of the Islanders assisted Lattie in surveying and marking a claim for Peter Skene Ogden, and the two then forced a Negro squatter to leave.¹¹²

Cowlitz Farm cultivated 1000 acres of wheat, oats, barley, and potatoes. It also had a dairy and horse park.¹¹³ The Kanakas at Cowlitz put up fences, repaired salmon barrels, built a stable and house, split rails for sheep pens, and worked in the fields. They were even willing to work on holidays, which was considered to be "... much to their credit." On March 23, 1849, one of them, Kaloma, went to Fort Nisqually in exchange for a French-Canadian, another indication of the demand for Kanaka laborers.¹¹⁴

The laborers at Cowlitz received from seventeen to twenty-seven pounds in salary. In 1847-48 nine Kanakas were employed with ten others, mostly French-Canadians. A year later only seven French-Canadians were at Cowlitz, although the number of Kanakas remained the same. In 1849-50 five Islanders were employed: Honolulu, Hoolapa, Jomano, Kamaka, and Mowee. Six French-Canadians worked at Cowlitz during the latter year.¹¹⁵

In 1849 the Rev. Samuel C. Damon, editor of Honolulu's *Friend* newspaper and minister in Hawaii for the Seamen's Friend Society, visited the Northwest Coast. At Vancouver he met the Kanakas employed there, and expressed gratification that the HBC was paying the salary of an Hawaiian minister and school teacher, Kanaka William. He also talked to "... an old *Kanaka* who had been nearly forty years in the company's service, during which period

he had visited England."¹¹⁶ This was John Coxe, who had originally left the Islands aboard the *Tonquin*.

Damon's visit coincided with the year that many HBC employees deserted for the California gold mines, the year that American emigration reached a new peak, and the year that the United States law officially reached the new Oregon Territory. The implications of these developments were important to the HBC and its servants. The Company was, in fact, on the decline south of 49° and would soon be forced to abandon many of its posts, including Fort Boise.¹¹⁷ In 1855 the United States and the Sandwich Islands concluded a treaty providing for U. S. goods to enter the Islands duty free, an agreement that threatened the HBC trade to the Islands, since the Company did not have similar privileges.¹¹⁸ By 1859 the HBC had terminated its Hawaiian affairs, and a year later the U. S. Army began destruction of Kanaka Village to provide an area for drilling a light artillery battery.¹¹⁹ Even Kanaka William was forced to vacate his home and watch it be destroyed.¹²⁰

The era of the fur company domination of Oregon Country had ended, and its passing signaled the decline in importance of the Kanaka labor force in the area. Many Islanders remained, but as American settlement and political power increased, the status of Kanakas deteriorated.¹²¹ Those who did not intermarry and disappear as a separate race returned to the life of seamen or Island citizens. The inferior status assigned them by Americans was similar to that of Chinese, Japanese, or Negro laborers.¹²²

NOTES

¹ These crew members included John Colcord and Peter Hatch, both of whom later settled in Oregon. Colcord married a native woman and fathered three Kanaka children. See Dye Papers, Ms 1089, Oregon Historical Society (hereafter cited as OHS).

² Robert C. Schmitt, "Population Characteristics of Hawaii, 1778-1850, *Hawaii Historical Review*, I (April 1965), p. 199. Hereafter cited as Schmitt, "Population Characteristics."

³ Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawaii: A History From Polynesian Kingdom to American State* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961), p. 31.

⁴ John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 . . .* (London: J. Walter, 1790), pp. 9-10. Hereafter cited as Meares, *Voyages*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Journal entry February 5, 1788, *ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu, 1947), pp. 30-33; 50.

⁹ Guy William Bennett, "Early Relations of the Sandwich Islands to the Old Oregon Territory," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, IV (April 1913), p. 120. Hereafter cited as Bennett, "Early Relations."

¹⁰ R. C. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (hereafter cited as *OHQ*), 35 (March 1934), p. 25. Hereafter cited as R. C. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon."

- ¹¹ "Menziess' California Journal," intro. by Alice Eastwood. *California Historical Society Quarterly* (hereafter cited as *CHSQ*), II (January 1924), p. 265.
- ¹² Agnes C. Conrad, "Hawaiian Registered Vessels," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 3 (1969), p. 31.
- ¹³ "Memoirs of Thomas Hopoo," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 2 (1968), pp. 43, 46, 53.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54; F., March 5, 1859.
- ¹⁵ Merze Tate, *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn., 1965), p. 45n.
- ¹⁶ Hawaii: Sandwich Islands correspondence, British Foreign Office, 1842-74. OHS on microfilm. There is some uncertainty on the latter word meaning.
- ¹⁷ David Kittelson, "John Coxe: Hawaii's First Soldier of Fortune," *Hawaii Historical Review*, I (January 1965), p. 195. Hereafter cited as Kittelson, "John Coxe."
- ¹⁸ W. Kaye Lamb, ed., *The Journal of Gabriel Franchère* (The Champlain Society, 1969), p. 59. Hereafter cited as *Franchère Journal*.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 70.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.
- ²¹ Milo M. Quaife, ed., *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 70-1. Hereafter cited as Quaife, *First Settlers*.
- ²² *Franchère Journal*, pp. 74-75.
- ²³ Wayne R. Kime, "Alfred Seton's Journal: A Source for Irving's Tonquin Disaster Account," *OHQ*, LXXI (December 1970), pp. 314-15.
- ²⁴ Quaife, *First Settlers*, pp. 81, 111.
- ²⁵ Kittelson, "John Coxe," pp. 123, 195.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- ²⁷ *Franchère Journal*, p. 114.
- ²⁸ Quaife, *First Settlers*, p. 195.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-6.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 270-1.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- ³² Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West . . .* (2 vols; London, 1855), p. 294. Hereafter cited as Ross, *Fur Hunters*.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 293.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-4.
- ³⁵ Peter Corney, *Voyages in the Northern Pacific . . .* (Honolulu, 1896), p. 69.
- ³⁶ Kittelson, "John Coxe," p. 196.
- ³⁷ Ross, *Fur Hunters*, p. 178. Fort Walla Walla was located on the east bank of the Columbia near the mouth of the Walla Walla River.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5, 158-60, 264-5.
- ³⁹ Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands; . . .* (Hartford, 1848), p. 134. Hereafter cited as Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one Years*.
- ⁴⁰ Ross, *Fur Hunters*, p. 278.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.
- ⁴² Schmitt, "Population Characteristics," p. 206.
- ⁴³ Richard A. Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas: Notes on Hawaiian Emigration Before 1848," *Journal of the West*, XI (April 1967), p. 221. Hereafter cited as Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas."
- ⁴⁴ McLoughlin-Fraser Family papers, 1796-1857. OHS Ms 927 on microfilm.
- ⁴⁵ Joseph Planta to Richard Charlton, July 7, 1824, British Foreign Office microfilm.
- ⁴⁶ Bennett, "Early Relations," p. 121.

- ⁴⁷ R. C. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," p. 28.
- ⁴⁸ Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas," p. 221.
- ⁴⁹ Schmitt, "Population Characteristics," p. 206.
- ⁵⁰ Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World, During the Years 1841 and 1842* (2 vols.; London, 1847), pp. 77-8. Hereafter cited as Simpson, *Narrative*.
- ⁵¹ Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one Years*, pp. 202-4, 259.
- ⁵² Letter, July 23, 1824, British Foreign Office microfilm.
- ⁵³ Kittelson, "John Coxe," p. 197.
- ⁵⁴ John M. Hussey, *The History of Fort Vancouver and its Physical Structure* (Tacoma, 1957), pp. 182-84. Hereafter cited as Hussey, *Fort Vancouver*.
- ⁵⁵ Burt Brown Barker, *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin written at Fort Vancouver 1829-1832* (Portland, 1948), p. 334. Hereafter cited as Barker, *McLoughlin*.
- ⁵⁶ John Work Journal, entry April 4, 1825, OHS Ms 319.
- ⁵⁷ John McLoughlin to Governor, etc., October 6, 1825, Vol. IV, *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters* (6 vols.; London, 1941). Hereafter cited by *HBRS* Vol. number.
- ⁵⁸ John Work, *Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura* (San Francisco, 1945), p. 103. Hereafter cited as Work, *Journal*.
- ⁵⁹ "Earliest Expedition Against Puget Sound Indians," intro. by Eva Emery Dye. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 2 (January 1907), pp. 16, 23.
- ⁶⁰ Fort Langley Journal, 1827-1830, OHS on microfilm. Fort Langley was located near the mouth of the Fraser River.
- ⁶¹ Entry, September 6, 1827, *ibid*.
- ⁶² Entry, September 10, 1827, and January, 1828, *ibid*.
- ⁶³ Donald H. Clark, "Sawmill on the Columbia," *The Beaver Outfit* 281, No. 1 (June 1950), p. 42. Hereafter cited as D. H. Clark, "Sawmill."
- ⁶⁴ *HBRS* Vol. IV, pp. 622-23.
- ⁶⁵ McLoughlin to Charlton, August 4, 1829, *HBRS* Vol. IV, p. 27.
- ⁶⁶ McLoughlin to Governor, etc., August 5, 1829, *HBRS* Vol. IV, pp. 29-38.
- ⁶⁷ McLoughlin to P. S. Ogden, August 14, 1831. Barker, *McLoughlin*.
- ⁶⁸ McLoughlin to Francis Heron, September 9, 1831, *ibid*. Fort Colville was located on the upper Columbia. Fort Simpson was located near Port Simpson in British Columbia.
- ⁶⁹ McLoughlin to Charlton, October 27, 1831, *ibid*.
- ⁷⁰ Work, *Journal*, p. 103.
- ⁷¹ Journal entries Oct. 24-25, Nov. 6, 1832; Feb. 3, 1833; letter to George Simpson March 12, 1832; F. G. Young, ed., *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth 1831-6*, (Eugene, 1899). Hereafter cited as Wyeth, *Journal*.
- ⁷² Wyeth to Tucker and Williams March 13, July 1, 1834, *ibid*.
- ⁷³ July 1, Sept. 2, 1834, *ibid*.
- ⁷⁴ Journal entries September 15, October 26 and 31, 1834, *ibid*.
- ⁷⁵ Journal entries November 10-12, 18, 1834, *ibid*.
- ⁷⁶ Journal entries November 25, 31, 1834, *ibid*.
- ⁷⁷ Journal entry February 6, 1835, *ibid*.
- ⁷⁸ Fort Hall Account Books, July 31, 1834-August 1837, OHS Ms 1198, on microfilm.
- ⁷⁹ Wyeth to Governor, etc., December 9, 1836, *ibid*.
- ⁸⁰ Wyeth to McLoughlin, December 9, 1836, *ibid*.
- ⁸¹ Wyeth to Thing, December 9, 1836, *ibid*.
- ⁸² William Smith, Sec. HBC, to Wyeth, January 9, 1837, *ibid*.

- ⁸³ Columbia River Fishing & Trading Company ledger, June 18, 1837, OHS Ms 938B.
- ⁸⁴ Duncan Finlayson to James Hargrave, February 29, 1836. G. P. Det. Glazebrook, ed., *The Hargrave Correspondence* (Toronto, 1938), p. 230.
- ⁸⁵ Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one Years*, p. 507.
- ⁸⁶ Alex Simpson to Governor Kekiouanaoa, September 28, 1842. British Foreign Office microfilm.
- ⁸⁷ Articles of agreement, March 25, 1844, *ibid.*
- ⁸⁸ William Miller to G. P. Judd, March 18, 1844, *ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ "Extract from a letter from James Hunnewell Esquire, of Boston dated 20th April 1846," *ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ *HBR* Vol. VI, pp. 404-6.
- ⁹¹ George Verne Blue, "A Hudson's Bay Company Contract for Hawaiian Labor," *OHQ*, XXV (March 1924), p. 72; D. H. Clark, "Sawmill," p. 43.
- ⁹² Kittelson, "John Coxe," p. 195.
- ⁹³ Testimony of Sir George Simpson, February 26, 1857, Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Parliament, House of Commons, 1857.
- ⁹⁴ Simpson to McLoughlin, March 1, 1842, *HBR* Vol. VI, p. 271.
- ⁹⁵ Simpson, *Narrative*, pp. 14-15.
- ⁹⁶ McLoughlin to Governor, etc., December 4, 1843, *HBR* Vol. VI, p. 182.
- ⁹⁷ McLoughlin to Governor, etc., July 7, 1842; November 10 and 20, 1844. *HBR* Vol. VI, pp. 6-7, 19, 161.
- ⁹⁸ McLoughlin to John Fraser, April 12, 1843. McLoughlin-Fraser Family microfilm.
- ⁹⁹ Sir George Simpson to Governor, etc., January 5, 1843, *HBR* Vol. VI, p. 349.
- ¹⁰⁰ McLoughlin to Governor, etc., June 24, 1842, *HBR* Vol. VI, p. 45.
- ¹⁰¹ McLoughlin-Fraser Family microfilm.
- ¹⁰² McLoughlin to Governor, etc., June 24, 1842, *HBR* Vol. VI, p. 45.
- ¹⁰³ McLoughlin to George Pelly, November 11, 1839. HBC Archives B.223/b/24 fo. 54d. Ewing Young arrived in Oregon in 1839; later his death and the problem of his estate led to efforts toward local government organization.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hussey, *Fort Vancouver*, introduction.
- ¹⁰⁵ Henry J. Warre and M. Vavosour to Sec. of State for the Colonies, October 26, 1845. OHS Ms 47, on microfilm. Hereafter cited as Ms 47; Hussey, *Fort Vancouver*, pp. 216-20.
- ¹⁰⁶ Hussey, *Fort Vancouver*, pp. 216-20.
- ¹⁰⁷ *The Friend*, September 4, 1844.
- ¹⁰⁸ Warre and Vavosour to Sec. of State, October 26, 1845, Ms 47.
- ¹⁰⁹ W. F. Tolmie to M. P. Deady, June 12, 1876, OHS Ms 48.
- ¹¹⁰ "Fort Boise: From Imperial Outpost to Historic Site," *Idaho Yesterdays*, 6 (Spring 1962), p. 36. Hereafter cited as "Fort Boise."
- ¹¹¹ C. A. Bagley, "Early Life on Vancouver Island," OHS Ms 101 on microfilm.
- ¹¹² Alexander Lattie, Fort George Journal, Feb. 25-July 25, 1846, OHS Ms 540 on microfilm.
- ¹¹³ Simpson, *Narrative*, p. 178.
- ¹¹⁴ Priscilla Knuth and Thomas Vaughan, eds., "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts, the Cowlitz Farm Journal, 1847-51," *OHQ*, LXIII (June, Sept. 1962), pp. 117, 120, 157, 168.
- ¹¹⁵ Cowlitz Farm Employee Lists, OHS Ms 135.
- ¹¹⁶ Samuel C. Damon, "Our Log-Book," OHS Ms 803.
- ¹¹⁷ "Fort Boise," p. 37.

- ¹¹⁸ Lord Clarendon to William Miller, December 31, 1855, British Foreign Office microfilm.
- ¹¹⁹ Richard W. Van Alosty, "International Rivalries in the Pacific Northwest," *OHQ*, XLVI (September 1945), p. 210; Hussey, *Fort Vancouver*, pp. 107-8.
- ¹²⁰ Hussey, *ibid.*
- ¹²¹ By 1860 it was estimated that 12% of Hawaiian males over 18 had left the Islands. Schmitt, "Population Characteristics," p. 206.
- ¹²² For additional material see Janice K. Duncan, *Minority Without A Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788-1850* (Portland, 1972).